1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

593 562 586 member of the family, and although she becomes affiliated to the hearth and joins her husband in the cult of his family ancestors, nevertheless she continues to dwell under the protection of her blood-relatives. It is told in one myth[1] that Eme'mqut drives off with his sister, who is being tortured by her husband the Ringed-Seal, and his relatives; so, also nowadays, the young woman's relatives still have the right to take her away from her husband if he treats her cruelly. This proves that woman is not considered to be her husband's property. If a woman flees of her own accord to her relatives, they will not surrender her. Sometimes the husband comes to ask her to come back, promising better treatment. On the other hand, the husband may cast out his wife without any explanation, if he dislikes her for one reason or another; but by this act he forever breaks up the union which marriage had established between the two families. Henceforth he cannot court any relative of his disowned wife. No girl relative of the latter will be given to him in marriage.

A Koryak widower on the Taigonos Peninsula, soon after his marriage, sent his second wife back to her relatives. I asked him why he had turned her out. He replied that she had not attended him when he had been ill, and did not take care of his children by his first wife.

In this simple manner, Koryak divorce is performed. If there are children at the separation of the spouses, the girls remain with the mother, the boys with their father. Disputes concerning the children do occur, but they are settled without anybody's intervention.

421 Form of Property. — Despite the fact that the proprietary right to clothing, household effects, houses, and domestic animals, has already become strongly lodged in the tribal consciousness, we still meet remnants of communal ideas in this sphere. These chiefly concern articles of hunting and fishing. The principle of property in the produce of labor is not as yet completely applied to the food procured by the hunter and fisherman. People in need of food may lay claim, as we shall see in the next chapter, to the game obtained by the successful hunter or fisherman. The social union among separate families is based on this.

422 428 Among the Maritime Koryak, clothing and ornaments alone are considered personal property. Wooden guardians and other amulets, household appurtenances, the house, nets, and skin boats, are family property. I have already said that the boat, being a "guardian" of the family, cannot belong to two different families. All these things pass on by inheritance from father to son, and, in their absence, to brothers. Daughters or sisters who have not been married into other families remain with their brothers or uncles. If one of the brothers sets up a separate house, he receives a part of the movable property, dishes and implements, and may continue to share with his brothers

[1] See Part I, p. 153. [2] Ibid., p. 41.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

in the common use of the skin boat, if he remains in the same village. In case of the death of the father or of a childless brother, the brother who keeps house for himself receives a portion of the inheritance, even if his brother's widow passes on to another, younger brother. I have already said that girls, on marrying into other families, take with them nothing but their clothes. The reindeer which the bride takes along are often delivered by her kinsfolk to her father-in-law, not immediately after the wedding, but according to the most convenient moment, considering what season is most favorable for the welfare of the herd.

The reindeer are the property of all the members of the family, but the movements of the herd are directed by the father. According to custom, each newly born child, irrespective of sex, receives one reindeer-heifer or more with a special mark on the ear.[1] This gives each member of the family a share in the herd later on. Under favorable conditions, a whole herd may be formed by the yearly increase of the herd of these heifers, before the child is ready to marry. Of course, the original herd belongs to the father; but considering that each child has its own reindeer, and that the wife and daughters-in-law retain as their property the reindeer which they brought in marriage, the whole herd of a large family belongs to a group of interrelated proprietors, under the direction of the eldest male. This elder may be the eldest brother or paternal uncle. On the father's death, the original herd is divided up among the sons, and, in the absence of children, among the brothers of the deceased. At marriage, daughters usually receive a share of the original herd from their father, in addition to their own reindeer. Some Koryak divide their deer equally among their sons and daughters, and give a proportionate part to the daughter at the time of her marriage;[2] but then the daughter is no longer entitled to inherit part of the herd on her father's death. If an unmarried girl is at home when her father dies, her brothers give her the reindeer at the time of her marriage. If a wife leaves her husband or is cast out by him, her relatives take back her reindeer. I have already said that divorces are very rare. After the birth of children, who are heirs to both their mother's and father's reindeer, the husband manages his wife's reindeer more independently. In general, the eldest member of the family manages the common herd of the family entirely without control. He designates which reindeer are to be killed for meat, clothing, sacrifices, and sale. He oversees the pasture and herdsman, and picks out the reindeer to be trained for harness. Of course, he often consults his wife or eldest son.

The parting of brothers, or the separation of a married son from the

[1] See p. 492.

[2] In Tale 86 Yiñea-ñeut marries Magpie-Man. They eat up all the reindeer which Big-Raven had given them. Yiñea-ñeut comes to her father to ask for food; and Big-Raven says, "You ate your share of reindeer, I have nothing else to give you" (Part I, p. 259).

17:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY4 Koryak RY4

Among the reindeer-breeding Alyutortsy there were associations of families with small reindeer herds, bound by blood or affinal kinship. The typical correlation of reindeer in a herd owned in common by five households was: 5% + 10% + 20% + 25% + 30% = 90%. The other 10% of the herd usually belonged to sedentary relatives of the reindeer-breeders. Property inequality among the Alyutortsy was less pronounced than it was among the Chavchuvens. There were only a few cases where one of the co-owners in the association owned as much as 60% of the combined herd.

Thus, the backward forms of the Koryaks' subsistence economy fostered the preservation of communal relations among them.

The existence of clan relations among the Koryaks in the past is indicated by a number of aspects of their social life, and particularly by their family and marital ceremonials, which persisted into the first quarter of the 20th century. Among the survivals of clan organization we must note the custom of mutual assistance among related families, the custom forbidding outsiders to use the fire of an unrelated family, the residence (according to 18th-19th-century sources) of several related families in the same dwelling, the custom of vendetta, which survived until the early years of the 20th century, etc. In addition, the coastal Koryaks still retained traces of the institution of elders. In some of the villages there were persons called nym'elgen-an—"the guardian of the place," "the guardian of the past." This position could be held only by a man who was considered a descendant of the founder of the village. Each group of Koryaks headed by a nym'elgen-an had its own wooden image. In addition to the general designation of nym'elgen, the image also had its own name. Some of these names ("swallow," "duck") were of totemic character. Sacrifices were made to the images; they were "fed" and "dressed" in grass clothing.

Family relations at the end of the 19th century were based on patriarchal norms (patrilineal kinship, inheritance from father to son, patrilocal marriage). Along with this, there were survivals of matriarchy, the most distinct of which was the granting of children to the mother in case of divorce.

Among the remnants of extinct forms of group marriage were the surviving custom of the sororate, according to which a widower must marry the younger sister, younger cousin or niece of his dead wife, and the custom of the levirate, according to which a younger brother had to marry the widow of his older brother; in the absence of a brother, this duty devolved on the nephew or cousin of the dead husband. However, such survivals of group marriage as the Chukchi "association by wife" were already unknown among the Koryaks in the 18th century.

The most common method of contracting a marriage was by working for the wife. Under this custom, the groom had to work from 2-3 months to three years in the family of his future father-in-law, taking part in tending reindeer and other tasks. After the expiration of the work period, the groom performed the so-called ceremony of "catching the bride": the bride ran about in the house, and the groom had to catch her, tear her clothing, and touch her bare body. The bride's relative's present at the ceremony tried to hinder this in every way, beat the groom with twigs, pushed him away, and so on.

According to Koryak religion, the whole world was inhabited by a multitude of harmful beings—nin'vit's. The nin'vit's were invisible, but could become visible if they chose. They appeared to people in the form of anthropomorphic creatures, with huge ears, burning eyes (sometimes with one eye, sometimes with three), with long sharp teeth and a body covered with thick black fur. It was thought that the nin'vit's hunted and ate people by entering them and causing illness. To placate the nin'vit's, the Koryaks